



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)**

PART 1 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 1

Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
(SNCC)

2887 pages

Section 1 of 19 sections.

Bufile 100-439190

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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| REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 3/20/64 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/11/64 - 3/18/64 |
| TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY ghb |
| | | CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C | |
| | | <small>APPROPRIATE LEGAL AUTHORITIES ROUTING</small> <small>SLIP COPY DATE 6-5-72</small> <small>Classification</small> | |
| <p>REFERENCE: Bureau letter to Atlanta, 2/7/64.</p> <p>R. Johnson - P* -</p> <p>LEADS (INFO OF FOLLOWING)</p> <p>BALTIMORE, BIRMINGHAM, CHARLOTTE, BY CHICAGO, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DETROIT, EL PASO, HOUSTON, INDIANAPOLIS, JACKSONVILLE, KANSAS CITY, KNOXVILLE, LITTLE ROCK, LOS ANGELES, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS, MIAMI, MOBILE, NEW YORK, NORFOLK, OKLAHOMA, CITY, PHILADELPHIA, PITTSBURGH, RICHMOND, ST. LOUIS, SAN ANTONIO, SAN FRANCISCO, SAVANNAH, TAMPA, WFO</p> | | | |

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5 Bureau (100-439190) (RM)

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2. Atlanta (100-6488)

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- (2) Pertinent activity in that division has been reported herein;
- (3) It is an office likely to have need of the info herein due to the racial or CP activity in that division.

The above offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any current CP members are engaging in considerable activities of SNCC or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating, and/or controlling SNCC. Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to the racial movement should not be reported under the caption of this case.

ATLANTA

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any cominfil of SNCC.

INFORMANTS

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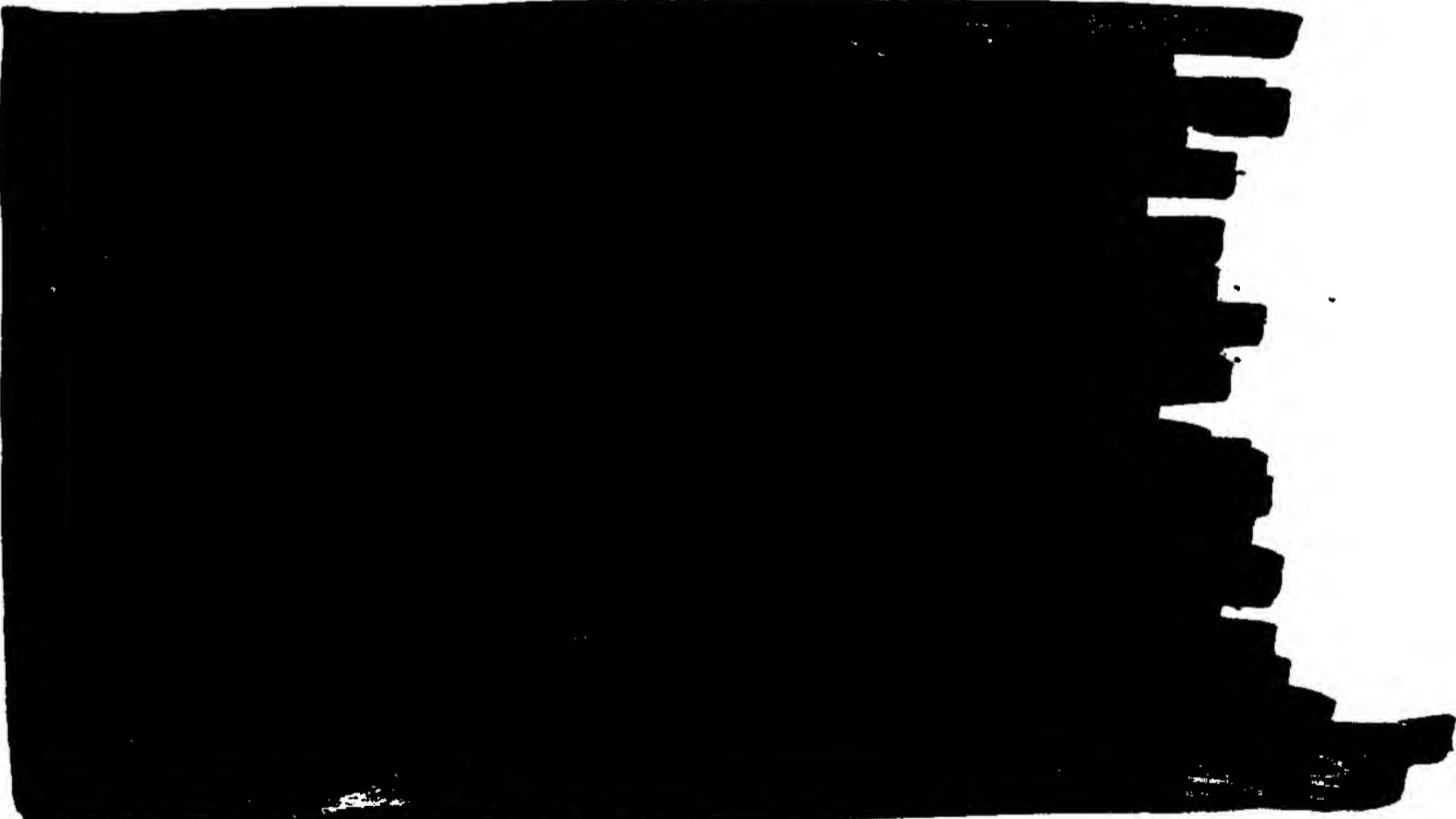
Copy to:
Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office Atlanta, Georgia
Date: March 20, 1964

Field Office File #: 100-6488 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:



SECRET
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Washington, D. C.
The FBI Laboratory

A 700-6438

The ~~protective telephone~~ ^{Secret} call to VICTOR RABINOWITZ
was made by [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] York on 5/2/63.

H.A.
C.P.

~~SECRET~~

AL 100-6488

DETAILS:

BASIS

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating that an apparent current member of the Communist Party, United States of America, is presently engaging in considerable activity, much in a leadership capacity in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party infiltration, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a specific target for infiltration. The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For the purpose of brevity, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC when appropriate in this report.

AT 100-6488

ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on March 17, 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee office is presently located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, having been at that address since the late summer of 1963. [REDACTED] explained that the SNCC office was located at 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, from the fall of 1962 to the late summer of 1963.

CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

The October 6, 1960, issue of "The Atlanta Constitution," a daily newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "Negro Parley in Atlanta May Chart New Protest." The article states that a meeting sponsored by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) would be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 14 through 16, 1960, and formal activities of the session would center around the topic "Non-violence and the Achievement of Desegregation." The article states further that SNCC was formed in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960, by college students who had been participating in various sit-down demonstrations, and delegates at that meeting agreed to hold another meeting later in the year.

[redacted] advised on October 19, 1960, that the SNCC conference held in Atlanta, Georgia, October 14-16, 1960, was chaired by MARION S. BARRY of Nashville, Tennessee, who was Chairman of the SNCC. The conference adopted the establishment of a permanent Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to derive its authority and direction from the general conference and that committee would therefore be controlled by the conference. The Coordinating Committee was to consist of one delegate from each of the named states, elected by those states, and of six delegates at large elected by the conference. At least three of these delegates at large must have previously been members of the temporary Coordinating Committee. There was to be no permanent chairman of the SNCC but instead a rotating chairmanship with each member of the Coordinating Committee being equally capable of speaking for the committee and for the movement. The Coordinating Committee was composed of one delegate from each of the following states:

Arkansas;
Alabama;
Florida;
Georgia;
Kentucky;
Louisiana;
Maryland;
Mississippi;
Missouri;

North Carolina;
Oklahoma;
South Carolina;
Tennessee;
Texas;
Virginia;
West Virginia;
District of Columbia.

[redacted] reported on January 7, 1963, that the SNCC conference held at Nashville, Tennessee, November 22-25, 1962, was not a policy making convention but more of a leadership training institute. //

[redacted] reported on January 7, 1963, that according to the SNCC Constitution as revised in April, 1962, any southern protest group of at least ten members may affiliate with the SNCC with the approval of the Executive Committee. The Coordinating Committee shall consist of one representative elected by each local group and shall meet three times a year, immediately before and after the annual Easter conference and in the early fall. The Executive Committee consists of the following:

Eight students elected by the Coordinating Committee from among their number;

Two adults;

The Chairman and the Executive Secretary elected by the Coordinating Committee; and

Three members at large elected by the Spring Conference, who must be students presently or formerly engaged in the Movement.

The Executive Committee serves between meetings of the Coordinating Committee and is directly responsible for the program, direction and supervision of the staff and policy. It meets five times a year, in May, in mid-summer, in the fall with the Coordinating Committee, during Christmas, at the annual spring conference, and it may meet other times when needed. The Executive Committee has the power to employ

the staff who are subject to annual review.

The April 14, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Journal-Constitution," which is the combined Sunday issue of "The Atlanta Journal" and "The Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "Civil Rights Youths Study Strategy Here." This article states the annual conference of the SNCC, held in Atlanta, Georgia, April 12-14, 1963, on the old Gammon Theological Seminary campus, was attended by about 300 young people, all allegedly taking part in four discussion groups on nonviolence, community mobilization, problems of the movement and social action.

[redacted] advised on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a pamphlet was made available regarding SNCC, which described SNCC as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

The June 29, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Inquirer," a weekly Negro newspaper published in Atlanta, Georgia, carried an article captioned "New SNCC Chairman Experienced Leader," which stated that at a recent meeting the SNCC voted to accept the resignation of its chairman, CHARLES McDEW, freeing him to further his education at an eastern university under a Brandeis fellowship. The article stated further that JOHN LEWIS, who was elected to succeed CHARLES McDEW, would be the civil rights group's third chairman, pointing out that MARION BARRY was SNCC's first chairman. The article also made reference to the fact that JAMES FORMAN was SNCC's Executive Secretary.

B. A. TROY

[REDACTED] reported on July 5, 1963, the following persons were members of the Executive Committee of SNCC:

JOHN LEWIS (Chairman);

CURTLAND COX (Howard University, Washington, D.C.);

MARION BARRY (University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee);

LOVIE MALONE (high school student, Rome, Georgia);

AVON ROLLINS (Staff Member, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia);

WORTH LONG (Little Rock, Arkansas);

GLORIA RICHARDSON (Cambridge, Maryland);

ROBERT WHITFIELD (Arkansas A and M, Pine Bluff, Arkansas);

JUARD ZINN (Adult Member - Atlanta, Georgia);

ELLA J. BAKER (Adult Member - Atlanta, Georgia).

The June 1, 1963, issue of "The Atlanta Inquirer" carried an article captioned "Spelman Professor Dismissed," stating the president of Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia, arbitrarily relieved Dr. EYWARD COOK, Professor of History, of all duties effective June 30, 1963. The article described

ZENN as recently elected to the Executive Board of SNCC, which organization had protested the professor's dismissal.

[redacted] reported on December 13, 1963, that on December 4, 1963, a pamphlet was distributed by SNCC listing the following officers:

Chairman: JOHN LEWIS;

Executive Secretary: JAMES FORMAN;

Staff Coordinator: WORTH LONG;

Communications Director: JULIAN BOND;

Project Directors:

Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES

Southwest Georgia: CHARLES SHERROD

Central Alabama: BYRNARD LAFAYETTE

Arkansas: WILLIAM HANSEN

Eastern Shore: RUF NALD ROBINSON

[redacted] advised on January 23, 1964, that he considered DEBBIE AMIS and JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, the main leaders in SNCC because they have been closely associated in recent civil rights activities and demonstrations in Atlanta, and he observed them referring repeatedly during these demonstrations.

[redacted] stated on January 24, 1964, that DEBBIE AMIS has been very active in leading racial demonstrations in Atlanta in the past few months, but he does not believe she has a title position with SNCC and for some reason does not seem to care to hold a title position; however, he considers her to be likely in command of SNCC after JOHN LEWIS, Chairman, and JAMES FORMAN Executive Secretary.

On February 13, 1964, [redacted]

[redacted] Atlanta, advised that [redacted]

[REDACTED] He has observed DEBBIE AMIS, a Negro female, as an active participant in these demonstrations. He further advised that from his observation, he has found DEBBIE AMIS generally to be the motivating force and leader of the demonstrative activities. He stated that wherever DEBBIE AMIS was, in the midst of these activities, she was constantly giving direction and guidance to the persons participating in the picket line.

[REDACTED] He advised that while he knew of no official title or position held by DEBBIE AMIS from his observations, it was apparent that she was the leader of these demonstrations on the scene.

An article appearing in the March 6, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" captioned "Fund for Integration Leader Raised From \$300 to \$7,000" identified DEBBIE AMIS as a Field Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The January 24, 1964 issue of the "Atlanta Daily World," a Negro newspaper published every morning except Monday in Atlanta, Georgia, contained an article stating SNCC had announced the appointment of Miss FRAZER HALL as Coordinator of SNCC activities in Atlanta.

The "People's World" is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

ALFERTIA MURRAY, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party in Louisville, Kentucky, on December 11 and 13, 1954, in her testimony in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Hurt, in the prosecution of CHARLIE BRADEN, husband of ANITA BRADEN, testified that CHARLIE and ANITA BRADEN were known to her as members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, which was during the period of her ALBERT MURRAY's membership.

In May 2, 1963, it was determined by a pretext interview in New York, New York, that VICTOR RABY WELCH was self-employed as an attorney at 30 East 42nd Street, New York, New York, and had offices with EDWARD B. GOLDSTEIN.

[REDACTED] advised on May 21, 1953, that LEONARD H. ROBINSON was a member of the SP as well as the National Lawyers Guild [REDACTED] [REDACTED] did not mention the date of RODD'S activities as a communist.

A characterization of the National Lawyers
Guard appears in the Appendix of this report.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On April 19, April 20, 1962, as part of the New York
Law Day observance, a well-deserved gift is the publication
of a booklet containing the officers and members of
the Executive Board of the N.L.G. selected
to attend the University Convocation held in
Seattle, Washington, from February 22-25, 1962.
Included among the members of the Executive
Board is the author of this memorandum.

On April 21, 1962, a meeting of the New York Board
of Directors was held at the Hotel Americana, New York City.

AT 100-6483

as Vice President and a member of the Board of
Directors of the New York City Chapter of the
NLG for 1962-1963.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SOURCES USED FOR CHARACTERIZATIONS IN APPENDIX

[REDACTED] - Clinton Youth Union

"

"

"

Young Socialist Alliance
"Young Socialist"

"

"

YOUTH LEADERSHIP

Copies of this report are being disseminated to
various organizations for their information.

[REDACTED]

New York airtel to Director 2/5/64 stated as

[REDACTED]

RESULTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM TO
INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY,
INCLUDING CP AFFILIATION OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS



A characterization of the SCEF appears in the Appendix to this report.

[redacted] reported on July 2, 1963, that FRANK WILKINSON, leader of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, attended the June 29, 1963, session of a civil liberties conference held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia, from June 28-30, 1963. This conference was organized by the SCEF and attended by members of SCEF and SNCC, most of whom were students of college age. WILKINSON spoke on civil rights in general and the subject of abolishment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Some of the individuals present at the June 29, 1963, session were JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, JULIAN BOND, Administrative Assistant of SNCC, ELLA LAKER of SNCC and the YWCA, Atlanta, and DOROTHY MILLER with SNCC and SCEF.

[redacted] advised on July 3, 1963, that SCEF, through DOROTHY MILLER, had planned a conference of a large group of civil liberties organizations to be held during the previous

spring in Atlanta, Georgia; however, this plan failed because other civil rights groups were staying clear of SCEF due to the belief that SCEF methods of operation do more harm than good for the advance of civil rights. Due to the above, SCEF then settled for the above-described conference held at the Interdenominational Center from June 28-30, 1963, and the only other group participating with SCEF was SNCC, which has always been very friendly with SCEF.

A characterization of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee appears in the Appendix to this report.

[REDACTED] advised on April 17, 1963, that DOROTHY MILLER was at that time putting in time and effort daily at the SNCC office in Atlanta; therefore, it would be assumed that she was on the SNCC payroll. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on August 12, 1963, that DOROTHY MILLER married JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER of the SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 9, 1963, that ROBERT ZELLNER had received a scholarship to Brandeis College in Mississippi, and DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER planned to move there with her husband for the 1963-64 school term.

[REDACTED]
Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, advised on October 9, 1963, that JOHN ROBERT ZELLNER was in attendance at Brandeis and resides with his wife at 71 Chestnut Street, Cambridge 34, Massachusetts.

[REDACTED] made available on October 12, 1961, a copy of a SCEF letter dated September 1, 1961, which stated that "out of the sit-ins, freedom rides and other forms of protest had come the organized, militant, and dedicated upsurge of youth led by the Youth Non-Violent Coordinating Committee." The letter stated further that although a few southern white students had participated, the movement was almost entirely Negro. The letter continued, to improve the situation, the SCEF was making a grant of \$5,000 to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which money was to be used to employ a field worker to visit white colleges and universities in the South to interpret the protest movement. The letter stated the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee had selected JOHN ZELLNER, 1961 graduate of Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama, as the field worker on this project and that ZELLNER would begin his work during that month.

On December 12 1963

Atlanta, Georgia, advised that Mrs. ELLA J. BAKER resides in Apartment 418 at the Waluhaje Apartments.

AT 100-6488

On April 23, 1958, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] she had ascertained that one ELLA BAKER was closely associated with STANLEY D. LEVISON.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On November 4, 1963,

while being interviewed in connection with another FBI investigation, advised that ROBERT MOSES was at that time Mississippi Director of SNCC; that the Greenwood office of SNCC was located at 705 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

A characterization of "Freedomways" appears in the Appendix to this report.

[REDACTED]

During a hearing conducted by the Subversive Activities Control Board during December, 1963, in New York City concerning the Advance Youth Organization, the counsel for Advance produced JAMES MONSONIS as a witness for Advance. MONSONIS testified that he was at that time on the staff of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in New York City, and had previously been employed by SNCC in Atlanta, Georgia. On cross-examination, MONSONIS stated that officials of SNCC were aware of the fact he was testifying in behalf of the Advance Youth Organization.

The above hearing was being conducted on the basis of a petition filed by the United States Attorney General with the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Advance Youth Organization to register as required by the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 in that the organization was a CP front.

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Young Socialist Alliance and the "Young Socialist" appears in the Appendix of this report.

[REDACTED] reported on December 13, 1963, that on October 4, 1963, a Bill of Rights rally, sponsored by

the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, was held at Baces Hall, 1528 North Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, California. FRANK WILKINSON, Executive Director, National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, spoke urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. JOHN LEWIS of the SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke and said if being called a Communist means freedom and equal rights for Negroes and minority races he would be glad to be called a Communist.



The February 2, 1964, issue of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

"2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds"

"The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist party members.

"Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist party-related activities.

"Thirty-five-year-old JAMES FORMAN of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities.

SNCC, a national antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent 'direct action' demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity.

"Among those arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College.

Mrs. ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY as a Communist party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show.

"Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs.

CTH/evr

"Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-dated story headlined 'Two Americans Blast U. S. at Peiping "Peace Parley":"'

"The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific "peace" conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, San Francisco writer and former labor school teacher....'

"The Shanghai News of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the 'Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY,' dated Peking. She was quoted:

"'Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean.'

"Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY in the report termed the Korean War a 'barbarism being committed in the name of our people...we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason.'

"Mrs. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by JANE ADDAMS. Mrs. CERNEY said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacteriological warfare against the Red Chinese.

"Mrs. CERNEY, who said she ran for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket in California in 1954, said 'Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial ISOBEL CERNEY is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children...and why there is violence.'

"She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination -- 'for peace and friendship.'

"Asked if she were a Communist, Mrs. CERNEY replied, 'I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: 'I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience.'"

"House committee reports cover Mrs. CERNEY's activities through 1961.

"Mrs. CERNEY participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27.

"She was arrested Jan. 27 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show.

"Police Supt. JIMMY BROWN said Mrs. CERNEY refused to identify herself when she was booked.

"Arrested the same day with Mrs. CERNEY were JAMES T. BISHOP, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, GLORIA, 21; MORRIS EISENSTEIN, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, FANNIE, and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show.

"All refused to give their names when booked.

"The day following Mrs. CERNEY's arrest a Soviet Union Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA).

"(Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city 'on the way to Cuba.' According to BRADFORD LYTTLE, coordinator for the march, three marchers are 'former' members of SNCC and several others are 'inactive members' of Fair Play for Cuba).

"LYTTLE left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, professor of psychology.

"During their visit to Atlanta, according to LYTTLE, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken 'by Leb's' and to City Hall 'in hopes of viewing a demonstration.' They also visited The Atlanta Constitution.

"(LYTTLE said the U. S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by 'important people,' whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved.)

"Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ANNE KINNEY on Dec. 22, 1952.

"He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by ANITA SCHNEIDER, the FBI undercover agent. STEINMETZ testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance.

"The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. STEINMETZ in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948, records show. (1)

"Neither Mrs. CERNEY nor Dr. STEINMETZ are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities.

"In October, 1962, Dr. STEINMETZ, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President JOHN F. KENNEDY's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island.

"Besides FORMAN, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman JOHN LEWIS of Troy, Alabama, one of the 'original freedom riders' and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator PRATHIA HALL of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary DEBBIE AMIS, also of Philadelphia.

"According to FORMAN, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N. C. FORMAN established national headquarters -- or 'The Central Office' as SNCC members refer to it -- in Atlanta in September, 1961.

"Before beginning large-scale demonstrations here, FORMAN participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga.; and Cairo, Ill.

"FORMAN says SNCC has about 145 paid employees scattered over the Southeast.

CTH/evg

"According to FORMAN, money for SNCC's campaigns comes from 18 'Friends of SNCC' organizations established through the nation.

"The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to FORMAN.

"The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed \$23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project.

"WILEY A. BRANTON, Director of VEP, said it is required that his organization's funds be restricted solely to voter registration activity...There have been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia during the past several months.

"SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months," BRANTON added.

"SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of 'Freedom Songs,' and 'Freedom Songbook' compiled by WY and CANDIE MARAWAN, and by concerts given by folk-singer PETE SEEGER.

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities lists 'no evidence' of Communist party membership for SEEGER, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with nine Communist-front organizations.

AT 100-6488

CTH/evg

"~~GUY~~ CARAWAN was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1957, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to the House committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that CARAWAN was 'now traveling in China as part of the group of 41 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves.'

AT 100-6488

[REDACTED]

New York sources, as of February 27, 1964, in a position to furnish information concerning the CP's interest and involvement in racial matters, have furnished no information reflecting that DEBBIE AMIS has been instructed by the CP to take active participation in or give guidance to racial activities in Atlanta, Georgia.

The March 6, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article:

"BOND FOR INTEGRATION LEADER RAISED FROM \$300 TO \$7,000"

"Fulton Superior Court Judge Durwood Pye declared Friday that a \$300 bond for a Negro integrationist charged with violating the state antitrespass law was 'worthless' and ordered it raised to \$7,000.

"The order came as the repeatedly postponed trial of some 45 civil rights demonstrators was to get under way before Judge Pye Friday morning.

"Arguments arose, however, over the validity of the bond posted by Debbie Amis, 24, field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

"Both her trial and the trials of other integrationists charged with the antitrespass law were postponed again until Monday at 9:30 a.m.

"Miss Amis was to have gone to trial Friday, but in a surprise move, her attorneys, Negroes Donald Hollowell and Howard Moore, announced they were withdrawing from her particular case. They did not give a specific reason, but said it was 'imprudent' to continue as counsel for her. They still will represent the other civil rights defendants.

"Immediately after the Negro attorneys' announcement, prosecuting assistant solicitor Paul Ginsberg made a motion to 'strengthen' the appearance bond against Miss Amis on grounds that the property put up as surety on the bond had a \$4,000 outstanding loan on it.

"Mr. Ginsberg also argued that Miss Amis is an out-of-state resident with a permanent address in Philadelphia, and should therefore have a greater bond set in her case.

"Judge Pye examined the bond application and affidavit, signed by Negro property owner and Atlanta

civil rights leader, Jesse Hill, and described it as 'worthless.'

"He said the encumbered property 'could not be levied upon by the state except by paying off the loan...and the state has no authority to do so.'

"The Judge observed that Miss Amis' \$300 bond had been forfeited last August when she failed to appear for arraignment on the charge she had trespassed June 18, 1963, during integration demonstrations at Leb's Restaurant at Luckie and Forsyth Streets.

"At a subsequent hearing, however, Miss Amis claimed she had been unable to appear because of an auto accident just prior to the arraignment. On her attorney's motion to vacate the forfeiture, the bond was reinstated.

"Asst. Sol. Ginsberg argued Friday, however, that new papers had not been drawn up on the renewed bond and it was therefore 'invalid.'

"Judge Pye then ordered bond reset on Miss Amis at \$7,000 'to be approved by the presiding judge.' The Fulton County sheriff's office approved the original \$300 bond.

"Miss Amis requested a hearing on the bond argument, however, and Judge Pye granted it and said the \$7,000 amount will be 'subject to modification' after the hearing. The hearing will be held after Miss Amis secures new counsel. In the interval, she remains in the sheriff's custody.

"At one point during the morning's proceedings, Miss Amis, without counsel, took the witness stand to undergo questions by Mr. Ginsberg on the motion to strengthen her bond.

"Holding a March, 1962, American Legion newsletter entitled 'American Legion Firing Line,' Mr. Ginsberg asked Miss Amis if she was vice president of an organization known as the Socialist Youth Union. The American Legion newsletter described the SYU as a 'Marxist organization.'

"'Do I have to answer that question,' Miss Amis asked Judge Pye.

"The judge answered that she could obtain an attorney before going any further with the hearing. 'You have that right,' he said.

"She then came off the witness stand, but Judge Pye ordered her bond increased to \$7,000 pending outcome of the bond hearing."

APPENDIX

CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO PRESERVE AMERICAN FREEDOMS

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations," revised, December 1, 1961, pp. 43-44, describes this committee as follows:

"The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms * * * specializes in propaganda aimed at abolishing the Committee on Un-American Activities and discrediting the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Created in Los Angeles in 1952, the front organization is run by FRANK WILKINSON, an identified Communist who recently resumed the full-time, paid post of executive secretary after approximately a year's leave of absence to assist in a similar campaign by another front in New York City, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

"When the Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings in Los Angeles, September 2-5, 1958, to inquire into the nature of the Party's recent reorganization in California, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sponsored a series of public meetings to protest the hearings and the very existence of the Committee. Communists subpoenaed as witnesses were guests of honor.

"At this time, leaders of the party's Southern California District, were mobilizing Communists in the area for participation in an intensified campaign to abolish this committee of Congress. How the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms served the party in this effort was revealed by (Communist Party) District Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY in a report to the party's Southern California District Council on September 21, 1958. Mrs. HEALEY declared that the party preferred public protest meetings to be held by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms rather than under party auspices because Communists could attend without danger of being exposed as members of the party. She also noted that Communists scheduled as congressional committee witnesses could not appear beforehand at openly

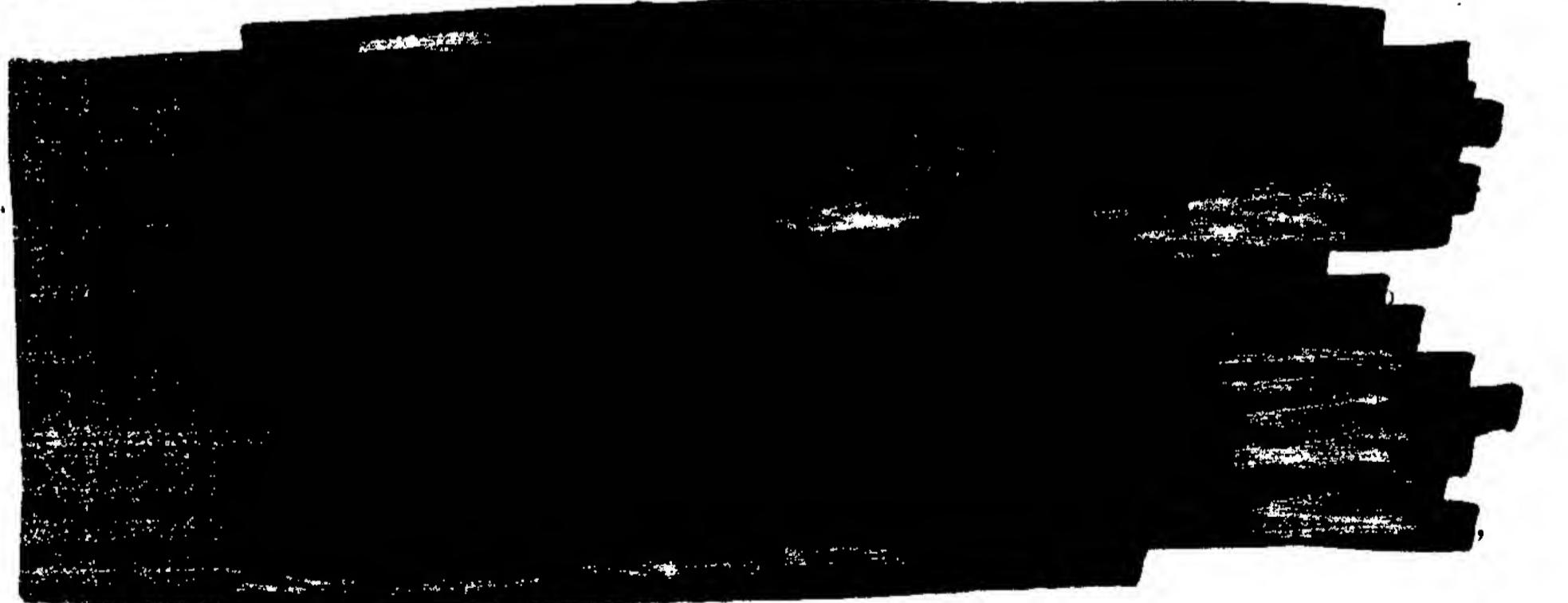
Communist rallies without creating the impression that the party was conspiring with witnesses to withhold information from the committee."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 259 on the Southern California District of the Communist Party, April 3, 1959, pp. 7 and 8.)

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba," placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. Charles A. Santos-Buch identified himself and Robert Taber as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and Taber obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisement.



The CP and the SWP have been designated pursuant
to Executive Order 10150.

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1963, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.



NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO
ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House Of Representatives, page 115, contains the following citation regarding the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee (NCAUAC).

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the Summer of 1960 to lead and direct the Communist Party's 'Operation Abolition' campaign. Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on the Truth About the Film 'Operation Abolition,' Part 1, October 3, 1961, p. 5)"

A source has advised that the NCAUAC changed its name on March 3, 1962, to include the word "House" in its name, thereby becoming known as the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee (NCAHUAC). A national meeting of this organization was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 27 and 28, 1963.

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., revised and published December 1, 1961, describes the above organization as follows:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

AT 100-6488

1

SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION OF PHILADELPHIA (SYU),
aka Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP),
Sunday Study Group, Winter Discussion Series
1957-1958

On December 5, 1960, a fourth source advised that the SYU had recently changed its name to Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP).

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1947.



A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed Communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

YOUNG SOCIALIST

The "Young Socialist" (YS) is a monthly publication which maintains the mailing address of P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York. The initial issue of this publication dated October, 1947, appeared on September 15, 1957.

The initial issue contained an announcement stating that the YS is "written by and for young socialists.." and that the YS would provide a sounding board for radical youth of different tendencies, who would profit by the free exchange of ideas.

A confidential source advised on May 5, 1958, that the YS was the brainchild of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP); however, inasmuch as the YS purports to be representative of the independent, broad and militant policy utilized by the SWP to reach radical youth, the SWP would quickly disclaim its conception of the YS.

The January, 1959, issue of the YS disclosed that during December 27 - 28, 1958, a National Conference of Young Socialist Supporters was held at Detroit, Michigan. The article disclosed that the conference, called by YS Editorial Board, consisted of YS supporters from all parts of the United States and resulted in the formation of a National Committee of Young Socialist Supporters. The article further stated that a basis was laid for a "nation-wide revolutionary socialist youth movement" which would be independent, broad and militant.

According to the above article, the YS, published in New York City, is now under the control of the organization effected at the above conference.

A confidential source advised on December 30, 1958, that although the above conference supporters publicly claimed independence, the conference was controlled and dominated by members of the SWP.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, Aka.
Young Socialist Forum

A confidential source advised on April 8, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was formed at a meeting held October 1, 1957, at New York City by individuals who were members of the elements formerly comprising the Young Socialist Forum in New York City. The Young Socialist Forum consisted of youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The Statement of Principle, set forth in the YSA Constitution, stated that the YSA: 1. Favored the abolition of our present capitalistic system; 2. Advocated the replacement of this system by a socialist system; 3. Firmly resolved to direct its activities toward bringing about this transition.

The stated purpose of the YSA, as set forth in the Constitution, was to bring together all young socialists in a broad, militant, independent, democratic organization.

Source advised that the membership of the YSA, after a series of minority resignations during 1958, became comprised almost exclusively of SWP members who followed the SWP line in YSA policies.

Source advised that although publicly declared as an independent socialist youth organization, the YSA in reality is the youth arm of the New York Local, SWP.

Source advised that the YSA holds meetings at the residences of individual members and maintains the mailing address of P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third confidential source advised on April 3, 1959, that, with the exception of two individuals, all members of the seven individuals comprising the Editorial Board of the YS are members of the New York Local, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
March 20, 1964

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
 STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
 COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
 dated March 20,
 1964, at Atlanta, Georgia

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished
reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| REPORTING OFFICE ATLANTA | OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE 10/28/64 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 9/15 - 25/64 |
| TITLE OF CASE | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY b7C cb |

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

~~FCR#002~~
~~Classified by SP7MACPSL~~
~~Declassify on QADR 10/30/89~~

DECLASSIFIED ON 1-29-80
BY 284 PWD/E/LW

CHARACTER OF CASE

IS - C ~~ENCLOSURES~~ SENT TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES UNDER COURT ORDER.

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED]

at Atlanta, 3/20/64.

-P-

b7C

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CHICAGO, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, DALLAS, DENVER, DETROIT,
EL PASO, HOUSTON, INDIANAPOLIS, JACKSONVILLE, KANSAS CITY,
KNOXVILLE, LITTLE ROCK, LOS ANGELES, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS,
MIAMI, MILWAUKEE, MOBILE, NEWARK, NEW HAVEN, NEW ORLEANS,
NEW YORK, NORFOLK, OKLAHOMA CITY, OMAHA, PHILADELPHIA,
PITTSBURGH, PORTLAND, RICHMOND, ST. LOUIS, SAN ANTONIO,
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TAMPA, WFO.

Classification 2832 Category 2
Declassify on 10/30/89
See release 10/6/88 Date 10/12/86

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| CC TO: <i>See per</i> | REQ. REC'D. 7-6-66 |
| JUL 14 1966 | |
| ANS. | BY: <i>JBL</i> |

*L. Stokely
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2 - Atlanta (100-6488)

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REVERSE SIDE
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NOTATIONS

FOR 16 SEP 30 1964
ADVISER STATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY 10/10/64
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DATE 10/10/64

6 OCT 20 1964

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

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| AGENCY <i>(1) FBI (13) CNT</i> | CS <i>100-6488</i> |
| REQUEST REC'D. | |
| DATE PWD. <i>10/13/64</i> | 10/13/64 |
| HOW PWD. | 10/13/64 |
| BY <i>J. T. T.</i> | |

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DATE 8-23-78

REQUESTER PROF CLAYBORNE CARSON

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Subj. OF REQUEST SNCC

OO TO: NL RJS

DECLASS. PER EO 12865 12/13/79 MAY 30 1979

DCUI ADVISED EFW

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Re: Southern Regional Council

AT 100-6486

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AT 100-6468

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Copies of this report are furnished to the above offices for one, or more, of the following reasons: 4

- (1) The office is located in a state authorized a delegate on the Coordinating Committee; 4
- (2) Pertinent activity in that division has been reported herein or in referenced report; 4
- (3) It is an office likely to have need of the info herein due to the racial or CP activity in that division. 4

Each of the above offices should advise whether or not an SNCC office, or local affiliate, is located within their division, or whether any SNCC activity suggesting Communist infiltration has taken place. 4

If the above is answered in the affirmative, the following action should be taken, in accordance with Bureau instructions: 4

- (1) Determine identity of all officers and individuals in a leadership capacity. 4
- (2) The names of these individuals should be searched through office indices, and established informants and sources contacted for any information of a subversive nature concerning the individuals. 4
- (3) The Bureau, Atlanta, and any other interested office, should be advised of the results of this inquiry, and recommendations regarding the initiation of an investigation regarding any local affiliate submitted. 4

Those offices having no SNCC office, or local affiliate, and no activity suggesting Communist infiltration, should send their negative reply to Atlanta only. 4

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-6488

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The above offices should remain alert and report any information indicating any current CP members are engaging in considerable activities of SNCC, or the CP is issuing any instructions aimed at infiltrating, dominating, and/or controlling SNCC. (Legitimate activities of SNCC relating to Civil Rights should not be reported under the caption of this case.) u

ATLANTA

AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Will follow and report any cominfil of SNCC. u

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

[REDACTED] is Los Angeles
[REDACTED]
(requested)

[REDACTED] Washington, D. C.
[REDACTED]
(requested)

File Number Where Located

100-6488-1A5

WFO 100-17107

[REDACTED] b2 b2
Characterization of [REDACTED] DANNY RUBIN

[REDACTED] CG [REDACTED] b1
[REDACTED] b2

[REDACTED] b2
[REDACTED] b2

[REDACTED] b2 b2
Characterization of STAUGHTON LYND

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(COVER PAGE)

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AT 100-6438

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Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

[REDACTED], NY, NY
(Requested)

NY 100-145842-132

[REDACTED] NY, NY
(Requested)

NY 100-22129

[REDACTED]
Atlanta, Ga.
(requested)

EA 100-35257

[REDACTED]
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
(requested)

100-6488-65

[REDACTED]
Chicago,
Ill.
(requested)

100-6341-9

NO 100-16890

[REDACTED]

CG 100-30538

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AT 100-6488

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Identity of Source

b2
b7D

[REDACTED]

b2

[REDACTED]

(requested)

(v) [REDACTED]

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga.
(requested)

b2
b7D

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Ga.
(requested)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being disseminated to local intelligence agencies for their information. u

This report is classified SECRET since information furnished by [REDACTED] could reasonably result in the identification of these sources, and thus impair the future effectiveness thereof, which impairment

b7

File Number Where Located

[REDACTED]
[SA 100-7260]

b2, b7D

100-6488-94

100-6488-1, 99

100-5776-75
LA 100-59009

ME 157-109
SF 61-369
100-6542-1

AT 100-6488

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would have an adverse effect upon the national defense of the United States.

The pretext telephone call to VICTOR RABINOWITZ was made by SA [REDACTED] at New York on 5/2/63. u

STAUGHTON LYND was interviewed on 8/13/53 by SAs [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] u

} 67C

-G*-
(COVER PAGE)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT 100-6488

~~SECRET~~
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

Copy to:

- 1- G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)
 1- ONI, Charleston, South Carolina (RM)
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~~SECRET~~Report of:
b7c
SA [REDACTED]

Date: September 28, 1964

Office: Atlanta
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

Field Office File #: 100-6488

Bureau File # 011601499190

Title: #252028 COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
5/2/86 STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CLASSIFIED BY: JES/JEP DECLASSIFIED BY: JES/JEP

DECLASSIFIED ON: 5/2/86 SEE RELEASE 1964-2-26 part II

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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DATE OF REVIEW 9/28/84

1-29-80

2846 PHD/ESW

Classified by 50-7146/PSK
Declassify on: OADR 10/30/69
Character: Fer 10/30/69APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY RECOMMENDATION
SLIP(S) FOR APPROVAL
DATE 3/7/64

The national headquarters, "central office", of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 8½ Raymond Street, S.W., Atlanta, Ga. SNCC Headquarters was moved from Atlanta to Greenwood, Mississippi, and back to Atlanta during Summer of 1964, for purpose of emphasizing importance of SNCC role in Mississippi Summer Project. SNCC describes itself as not being a membership organization. Names of officers and advisors set forth herein. SNCC has received financial support from Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., New Orleans, La., Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, New York, New York, and Women's Peace and Unity Club, Chicago, Illinois. HOWARD ZINN, adult member, executive committee, SNCC, was member CP in 1935. ELLA J. BAKER, adult member, executive committee, SNCC, attended executive board meeting of Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., on 1/30/60, and has associated with individuals known to be CP members. Information received in mid-December, 1963, that JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, was member of Fair Play for Cuba Committee. As of 6/29/63 DOROTHY MILLER ZELLNER, New England representative of SNCC, was member of CP, NYC. Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, teacher at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga., ardent supporter of SNCC was CP member in 1955. Dr. [REDACTED] Atlanta, Ga., ardent supporter of SNCC identified as CP member in December, 1952. [REDACTED] not affiliated with SNCC since March, 1964.

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On or about 2/22/64 [REDACTED] young Negro CP member from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, attempted to recruit individuals at SNCC headquarters in Atlanta to attend a "youth conference". As of 2/24/64 and 3/9/64 SNCC headquarters in Atlanta was receiving "The Worker". On 5/7/64 six volunteer workers for SNCC were arrested in Mississippi for reckless driving, at which time they were hauling books for SNCC in connection with Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) program for Mississippi in Summer, 1964. Among these books was an address book containing street addresses for such organizations as Communist Party, USA, New York, N.Y., Fair Play for Cuba and the National Council of American - Soviet Friendship, Inc., New York, N.Y.

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DETAILS:

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee or whether the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is a specific target for infiltration. u

The FBI is not interested in the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. u

For the purpose of brevity the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee will be abbreviated by the initials SNCC when appropriate in this report. u

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ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The national headquarters, "central office", of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is located at 8½ Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia, having been located at that address since the late Summer of 1963. The SNCC office was located at 6 Raymond Street from the Fall of 1962 until the late Summer of 1963, and the organization continues to utilize that space as well as that mailing address periodically. u

The June 13, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal", a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article: u

"SNCC Moving Headquarters From Atlanta" u

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announced Friday that it will move its national headquarters from Atlanta to Greenwood, Miss. u

Leaders of the militant anti-segregation organization said the move was decided upon during a three-day staff and executive committee meeting held here this week. u

"SNCC - in cooperation with several other civil rights groups - plans a massive anti-segregation campaign in Mississippi this summer. u

"SNCC Chairman John Lewis said the projected move is in part prompted by concern for the nearly 1,000 young people expected to participate in the program. u

"James Forman, executive secretary of the organization, said the Atlanta office will be maintained. It is located at 8½ Raymond St., NW. u

"The Atlanta office will continue to administer SNCC programs in Arkansas, Alabama, Southwest Georgia and North Carolina. u

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"The organization, made up primarily of young people, is an outgrowth of the lunch counter sit-ins which began in 1960. Its headquarters here opened in that year." *u*

JULIAN BOND, Communications Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, advised on August 5, 1964, it was announced that SNCC was moving its headquarters, from Atlanta, Georgia, to Greenwood, Mississippi, for the purpose of emphasizing the importance of SNCC's role in the Mississippi Summer Project; however, this was only considered a temporary move and the SNCC headquarters was expected to return to Atlanta upon completion of the Mississippi Summer Project around the first part of September, 1964. BOND explained that the administrative staff of SNCC continued to perform the administrative functions of SNCC in Atlanta such as the bookkeeping, mailing and the handling of communications, with JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of SNCC, spending the majority of his time traveling around the United States and JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of SNCC, spending the majority of his time somewhere in Mississippi. *u*

The September 2, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Journal" contained the following article: *u*

"Rights Group Returns Here" *u*

"The national headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Tuesday moved back to Atlanta after temporary summer-long residence in Mississippi. *u*

"SNCC was one of the civil rights groups participating in the 'Mississippi Summer Project' out of Greenwood, in which efforts were made to increase Negro voter registration. 'Freedom schools,' community, recreation and political action centers were set up." *u*

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CHARACTERIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF SNCC

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On December 13, 1963, [REDACTED] furnished a pamphlet, issued by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which was made available to him on December 4, 1963. This pamphlet is captioned "SNCC: Structure and Leadership" and states in part as follows: U

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is not a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. U

"The Coordinating Committee itself consists of representatives of protest groups which meet regularly to formulate strategy. The Committee elects an executive committee, which is responsible for employing staff and overseeing the general program." U

"SNCC workers have organized and guided local protest movements which are never identified as SNCC projects. This is part of its program of developing, building, and strengthening indigenous leadership. U

"This program has captured the imagination of students all over the country, and today more than 150 SNCC field secretaries are symbols of courage and dedication as they undertake the often tedious and tiring, and always dangerous work, in the most difficult areas of the South.....

Mississippi - Southwest Georgia- Central Alabama- Eastern Arkansas- Southern Virginia U

"These students work for subsistence salaries when funds are available, but at times they have chopped cotton and picked squash to secure food. They live in the community, often in the homes of local residents, for the weeks and months that are required to break through U

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generations of fear and intimidation. The students' courage helps emerging leaders achieve a new self image and the strength to act. Sustained personal contact, discussion and persuasion and his determination to stay with them and their problems, give the local people confidence in the SNCC worker and the program he advocates. The people then begin to gain enough confidence in themselves to seek and assert their rights. U

"In the community SNCC workers organize for voter registration and direct action. SNCC voter registration efforts give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. And, fully as important, the program deepens an awareness of the meaning of first class citizenship, develops a community of action, and creates mutual trust and support among people who too often have been suspicious and divided by fear." U

The March 3, 1964, issue of "The Student Voice", a weekly publication of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, contained the following article: U

"Miss. Summer Project Set U

"Jackson, Miss. - Plans for a summer Peace Corps type operation for Mississippi have been announced by SNCC officials. U

"Scores of students, teachers, technicians, nurses, artists, and legal advisors will be recruited to come to Mississippi to staff a wide range of programs according to Bob Moses, director of SNCC's Mississippi project. U

"SNCC worker Moses, who serves as program director for the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) - an alliance of civil rights groups working in this state - stated that this summer's project would 'augment the voter registration campaign now underway throughout Mississippi.' U

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"The Mississippi Summer Project - under the auspices of COFO will include freedom schools, community centers, research projects, and law student projects in addition to voter registration. A 'pilot project' in white communities is also planned. U

"According to SNCC Chairman John Lewis, the struggle for freedom in Mississippi can only be won through concentrated action within the state and awareness throughout the nation of the need for Federal intervention to insure the voting rights of Negroes. U

"Plans call for voter registration workers in 'every rural county and important urban areas in the state,' Moses said. U

"Daytime and resident 'Freedom Schools' will provide remedial work for high school students and 'advance adult literacy for the purpose of voting,' according to plans. U

"Community centers will 'focus on political education and organization.' Libraries, similar to the library in SNCC's Greenwood, Miss. office will developed throughout the state from national book drives. U

"Skilled workers are needed to carry out a research project inquiring into Mississippi's suppressive political and economic system,' Lewis stated. 'SNCC hopes to launch a massive legal offensive against the official legal tyranny of the state,' Lewis said. U

"Lewis and Moses claim the summer program will 'attempt to involve students from all over the country.' Students over 18 years who feel they are qualified may apply to: Mississippi Summer Project, 1017 Lynch Street, Jackson, Miss." U

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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF SNCC

On April 23, 1964, JULIAN BOND, Communications Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, advised the following individuals constituted the executive committee of SNCC, which was elected during a three day conference in Atlanta, Georgia, ending on March 31, 1964: u

JOHN LEWIS, Chairman

JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary /B. WOOD/

JULIAN BOND, Communications Director

Staff Coordinator

[REDACTED] member (Harvard University,
Washington, D. C.)

[REDACTED], member (Spelman College,
Atlanta, Georgia)

[REDACTED], member (Albany State College,
Albany, Georgia)

[REDACTED] Adult member (Boston, Massachusetts)

EILLA J. BAKER, Adult member (New York, New York)

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On April 23, 1964, JULIAN BOND also identified the following project directors of SNCC: u

Southwest Georgia: [REDACTED] (Albany, Georgia)

Arkansas: [REDACTED] (Pine Bluff, Arkansas)

North Carolina: [REDACTED] (Raleigh, N.C.)

Mississippi: ROBERT MOSES (Jackson, Mississippi)

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On April 23, 1964, BOND stated that [REDACTED] has not been affiliated with SNCC since mid-1964. u

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On April 23, 1964, BOND advised that the coordinating committee of SNCC is composed of representatives from the following states: u

Arkansas
Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maryland
Mississippi
Missouri
North Carolina
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia
West Virginia
District of Columbia.

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~~COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) PROGRAM TO
INFILTRATE SNCC AND INFLUENCE ITS POLICY~~

b7, b7D [redacted] advised on March 17, 1964, that a check dated January 28, 1964, made payable to SNCC in the amount of \$300 was drawn against the account of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, and this check contained the following endorsements: u

"Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee,
132 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia
Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia." u

A Characterization of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. appears in the Appendix of this report. u b7, b7D

[redacted] stated on February 12, 1964, that on February 4, 1964, [redacted], Communist Party [redacted] Baltimore, Maryland, had in his possession two copies of "The Student Voice" published by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, which copies were dated December 16, 1963, and January 14, 1964. (u)

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b7E [redacted] reported on February 10, 1964, that one Communist Party member originally from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and believed by the source to be operating under the direction of Mortimer Daniel Rubin, Communist Party, United States of America Organizer, was visiting the Eastern seaboard of the United States in an effort to organize youth groups. The source reported that [redacted] contemplated a visit to Atlanta, Georgia, prior to his return to New York City on or about February 22, 1964. (u)

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On April 23, 1964, Mr. JULIAN BOND, Communications Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, 85 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that [REDACTED] of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, visited in Atlanta, Georgia, for approximately two or three days about six weeks ago. According to BOND, [REDACTED] was traveling from Philadelphia down the East coast recruiting for a "Youth Conference" which [REDACTED] explained was to be held this spring or summer in either Chicago, Illinois or Detroit, Michigan. According to BOND, [REDACTED] attempted to recruit him and others at the SNCC headquarters office to attend this "Youth Conference". BOND advised that [REDACTED] was unsuccessful in his attempts to interest these individuals he contacted at SNCC in attending this conference. BOND advised from his conversation had with [REDACTED] he gained the impression that the conference related to civil rights and peace issues. BOND further related that as a result of his contact with [REDACTED] he suspected him of being a Communist Party representative acting in some organizing capacity. BOND related that he was unaware of any success that [REDACTED] might have had in the Atlanta area in his effort to interest youths or students in this "Youth Conference." u

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[REDACTED] advised on February 22, 1964, that on February 22, 1964, at a meeting of the National Communist Party Negro Committee, held in Chicago, Illinois, GEORGE MEYERS, Communist Party District Chairman, Baltimore, Maryland, gave a report regarding his trip to the South, and pointed out that SNCC was doing a good job in the South. X(C)(4)

[REDACTED] advised on February 24, 1964, and on March 9, 1964, that SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, was at that time receiving the weekend and mid-week editions of "The Worker", an East Coast Communist newspaper. X(C)(4)

[REDACTED] reported on February 28, 1964, that on February 26, 1964, at a meeting of the Unity Club of the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware, held at the residence of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it was announced that JOHN LEWIS of SNCC would be in Philadelphia to speak on February 28 and 29, 1964. X(C)(4)

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The May 21, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Daily World", a Negro newspaper issued daily in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article:

"Albany 'Justice' Assailed

"Hapeville, Ga. - 'Upside down justice' in Albany, Ga., was assailed by the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at its semiannual meeting here over the weekend.

"The board called upon the U. S. Department of Justice to confess error in the conviction and sentencing of leaders and members of the Albany Movement in U. S. District Court.

"SCEF, a Southwide civil rights group based in New Orleans, charged that numerous instances of police brutality against integrationists 'have been ignored by the United States Department of Justice and the federal grand juries' in southwest Georgia.

"Yet these same federal agencies moved swiftly against members of the Albany Movement after they picketed for one hour the supermarket of a friend of leading politicians in Southwest Georgia,' the board declared in a resolution.

"JOHNSON PUSHED

"The SCEF leaders urged President Lyndon Johnson to 'use his influence to right this wrong'. They also called upon Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to protect students and others aiding in voter registration in the South this summer.

"We are especially concerned about the safety of some 1,000 young people who are following the call of conscience to go into Mississippi to aid in voter registration, community work, and tutoring of underprivileged students,' the board said.

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"We call upon the President and the Attorney General, as head of the Justice Department, to use their powers to the fullest extent to protect the nonviolent. We ask that this be done through the use of federal marshals, augmented by federal troops if necessary. We ask that the private armies of Gov. George Wallace and other officials be abolished." u

"The board pledged full support of SCEF to the students and commended 'those who are giving up their current summer vacations and customary comforts to try to make democracy real in our land.' u

"SCEF also renewed for the fourth year a grant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to finance work on white college campuses in the South. It voted support of a new student organization growing out of this work the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). u

"The board added to its membership Ed Hamlett, Jackson, Tenn., a field secretary of SNCC and member of the executive committee of SSOC; Miss Carol Hoover, Atlanta administrative assistant to the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Mrs. Isobel Cerney, professor at Morris Brown College, Atlanta, and Dr. Harry Steinmetz, professor at Morehouse College, Atlanta." u *1/2*

The February 2, 1964, issue of the "Atlanta Journal-Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article: u

"2 SNCC Backers Here Once Identified as Reds" u

"The tax-exempt Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee counts among its active supporters at least two faculty members of Atlanta Negro colleges who have been identified by an FBI undercover agent in public hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as Communist Party members. u

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"Several other SNCC workers have been involved in Communist-party-related activities. u

"Thirty-five-year-old JAMES FORMAN of Chicago, executive secretary of SNCC, refused to discuss any possible relationship between SNCC and subversive activities. u

"SNCC, a national antisegregation organization with headquarters here, has spearheaded recent 'direct action' demonstrations in Atlanta which resulted in violence, mass arrests and a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity. u

"Among those arrested in the demonstrations was Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, a teacher of public speaking and English at Morris Brown College. u

"Mrs. ANITA BELL SCHNEIDER, an undercover agent for the FBI, identified Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY as a Communist Party member in July, 1955, at hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Diego, committee records show. u

"Committee files contain substantial information concerning Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY's activities in civil rights drives and in pro-Communist programs. u

"Committee records show that on Oct. 10, 1952, The Washington Star reported in a Tokyo-dated story headlined 'Two Americans Blast U. S. at Peiping "Peace Parley":' u

"The Chinese Communist radio said yesterday two Americans joined the anti-American campaign in speeches at the Communist-called Asian and Pacific "peace" conference in Peiping. The two were identified as Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY, San Francisco writer and former labor school teacher....' u

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"The Shanghai News of Oct. 12, 1952, published excerpts from the 'Supplementary Report on Korean Question by Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY,' datelined Peking. She was quoted: u

"'Unable to defeat the people of Korea and the volunteers of China on the field of battle, our generals have resorted to underhanded, mean and dirty misuse of modern science. Launching of bacteriological warfare of which we, who have seen the Exhibition here in Peking have not the slightest doubt, is a preview of what another war would mean.' u

"Mrs. ISOBEL CERNEY in the report termed the Korean War a 'barbarism being committed in the name of our people.... we have been active in trying to halt this war which is without meaning, without justice, without reason.' u

"Mrs. CERNEY said in Atlanta Friday night the statements attributed to her were accurate. She said she visited Red China as a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded by JANE ADDAMS. Mrs. CERNEY said she still is convinced that the United States carried out bacteriological warfare against the Red Chinese. u

"Mrs. CERNEY, who said she ran for the U. S. Senate on the Progressive Party ticket in California in 1954, said 'Atlanta doesn't need to get itself off on how controversial ISOBEL CERNEY is or isn't. Atlanta must think about its children....and why there is violence.' u

"She said she went to China for the same reason that many Northern white students are in Atlanta to help destroy discrimination--'for peace and friendship.' u

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"Asked if she were a Communist, Mrs. CERNEY replied, 'I have been asked that question many times through the years. And this is my answer: "I believe sincerely in freedom of conscience." u

"House committee reports cover Mrs. CERNEY's activities through 1961. u

"Mrs. CERNEY participated in SNCC-led desegregation demonstrations at Leb's restaurant Jan. 25 and Jan. 27. u

"She was arrested Jan. 27 at Leb's on a charge of disorderly conduct, Atlanta police records show. u

"Police Supt. JIMMY BROWN said Mrs. CERNEY refused to identify herself when she was booked. u

B APPROX /

~~MARY~~ JAMES ~~YEE~~ SHOP, 27, professor of chemistry, and his wife, GLORIA, 21; MORRIS EISENSTEIN, professor of social work in the Atlanta University complex; his wife, FANNIE, and their two children, ages 8 and 12, police records show. u

"All refused to give their names when booked. u

"The day following Mrs. CERNEY's arrest a Soviet Union Peace Committee came to Atlanta at the invitation of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA). u

"(Eighteen members of CNVA are in jail in Albany on several charges after they attempted to march through the city 'on the way to Cuba.' According to BRADFORD WITTLE, coordinator for the march, three marchers are 'former' members of SNCC and several others are 'inactive members' of Fair Play for Cuba). u

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"LYTLE left the march to return to Atlanta to greet the Soviet Peace Committee at Atlanta University. Their host was Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, professor of psychology. u

"During their visit to Atlanta, according to LYTLE, the Soviet Peace Committee was taken 'by Leb's' and to City Hall 'in hopes of viewing a demonstration.' They also visited The Atlanta Constitution. u

"(LYTLE said the U. S. State Department at first had denied the Soviet Peace group's application for a visa, but he said pressure was brought to bear by 'important people,' whom he declined to name, and the visas were approved.) u

"Dr. HARRY C. STEINMETZ, host to the Russians, was identified as a Communist party member in a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by ANNE KIRKET on Dec. 22, 1952. u

"He was identified as a party member at a hearing again on Dec. 6, 1956, by ANITA SCHNEIDER, the FBI undercover agent. STEINMETZ testified before the House committee on April 7, 1953, and refused to affirm or deny party membership. He testified again on July 6, 1955, and took First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer questions concerning party membership prior to 1940. He denied that he was a party member at the time of his appearance. u

"The People's World, a Communist party newspaper, announced a lecture by Dr. STEINMETZ in 1959 at the American Russian Institute of San Francisco. This institute was cited as subversive by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948, records show. u

"Neither Mrs. CERNEY nor Dr. STEINMETZ are recognized leaders of SNCC, but both are considered to be ardent supporters of SNCC activities. u

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"In October, 1962, DR. STEINMETZ, other Atlanta University faculty members and SNCC members established a picket line in Hurt Park to protest President JOHN F. KENNEDY's blockade of Cuba and his demand that Soviet missiles be withdrawn from the island. U

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"Besides FORMAN, the recognized leaders of SNCC and its Atlanta campaign include Chairman JOHN LEWIS of Troy, Alabama, one of the 'original freedom riders' and organizer of demonstrations in Nashville in 1962-63; Atlanta Coordinator PRATHIA HALL of Philadelphia, who has been active in SNCC activities in Albany and Terrell County; Field Secretary DEBBIE AMIS, also of Philadelphia. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

"According to FORMAN, SNCC was formed Feb. 1, 1960, when four students carried out a sit-in demonstration in Greensboro, N.C. FORMAN established national headquarters -- or 'The Central Office' as SNCC members refer to it -- in Atlanta in September, 1961. U

"Before beginning large-scale demonstrations here, FORMAN participated in desegregation drives in nine other cities including Birmingham, Cambridge, Md.; Albany, Ga.; and Cairo, Ill. U

"FORMAN says SNCC has about 145 paid employees scattered over the Southeast. U

"According to FORMAN, money for SNCC's campaigns comes from 18 'Friends of SNCC' organizations established through the nation. U

"The Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council, a research organization, also has contributed funds to SNCC, according to FORMAN. U

"The Southern Regional Council reported this week that since April 1, 1962, it had contributed \$23,884 to SNCC through its Voter Education Project. U

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"WILEY A. BRANTON, Director of VEP, said it is required that his organization's funds be restricted solely to voter registration activity...There never been instances where SNCC wanted to engage in other activities and has withdrawn from voter registration activity. This has been the case in southwest Georgia in the past several months." u

"SNCC is not currently doing any voter registration work under VEP auspices in the State of Georgia, and has not received any funds for voter registration in Georgia in the past several months", BRANTON added. u

"SNCC also has realized an unspecified amount of money from a recording of 'Freedom Songs,' and 'Freedom Songbook' compiled by CECIL and CAROLYN CARAWAY, and by concerts given by folk-singer STEVE SEELEY. u

"The House Committee on Juvenile Delinquency lists 'no evidence' of Communist party membership for SEELEY, but, according to committee records, he has been associated with nine Communist-front organizations. u

"CECIL/CARAWAY was listed by The Worker, a Communist newspaper, on Sept. 15, 1957, as one of the winners of first prize in the International Talent Competition at the festival in Moscow, according to the House committee records. The article in The Worker also reported at the time that CARAWAY was 'now traveling in China as part of the group of 41 Americans who defied the threats of the State Department and decided to see the world for themselves.' u

A Characterization of the Southern Regional Council appears in the Appendix of this report. u

The May 21, 1964, issue of "The Atlanta Constitution," a daily newspaper issued in Atlanta, Georgia, contained the following article: u



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"New Yorker With Red Ties Publishing
Paper in Atlanta" u

"A 25-year-old New York man, who once dipped the U. S. flag in tribute to Communist officials in a Moscow parade, has moved into an Atlanta Negro neighborhood and is putting out a newspaper which advocates overthrow of capitalism and suggests that Negroes take up firearms against white persons." u

"Jacob (Jake) Rosen, alias John Harnett, whose Atlanta address is 3006 Delmar Lane NW, Atlanta 11, established the newspaper ~~'Freedom'~~ at that address during April. Rosen also has been associated with leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee here." u

"Rosen moved the paper here from Monroe, N.C., where he lead racial demonstrations and organized a successful Negro school boycott there, according to Monroe police. He last published Freedom in November 1963 in Monroe." u

"Rosen has traveled extensively in Russia, China and Fidel Castro's Cuba. Using the name Harnett, he was a reporter for the Augusta Chronicle in 1961 during racial turmoil there. He supplied news about Augusta's racial situation to a wire news service and to other newspapers in Georgia." u

"On Feb. 3, 1960, Albert Gaillard, a former member of the Communist Party, identified Rosen as a Communist Party member during a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities." u

"Gaillard also testified: u

"'At this time, Mr. Rosen was head of the educational youth group called SCOPE, and he was trying to get the Negro youth from Harlem to take courses in SCOPE.' u

"(SCOPE, Student Committee on Progressive Education, was formed in 1958 with the avowed purpose of providing an 'opportunity to discuss Marxism'.) u

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"Freedom," dated April 18, 1964, the first edition to carry an Atlanta address, announced:

"Freedom was born last year in Monroe, North Carolina. With this issue, Freedom will become a South-wide paper with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. Our aim is to build Freedom into a paper of, by and for the oppressed and struggling people of the South. Support Freedom now."

"Freedom depicts the Statue of Liberty as a Ku Klux Klansman holding up a fiery cross, and an editorial under the by-line of Max Stanford declares:

"...It is time for the Black American to wake up. We must see that this capitalistic system can not reform itself . . . We must stick together, fight together and if necessary, die together."

"Negro Uses Gun"

"A cartoon panel shows a Negro with a gun driving away a white policeman, a judge and a Ku Klux Klansman. The armed Negro carries a placard reading 'Robert Williams Negroes with Guns.'

"The last drawing shows a Negro boy and a white girl saying 'Thanks for teaching us Robby!'

"(An Associated Press dispatch dated July 20, 1961 reported: 'A Monroe, N.C., Negro leader says he is collecting rifles for two reasons - to form a rifle club and for an armament race with the white people of Monroe. Robert F. Williams, an avowed admirer of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro . . . said the group has about 100 weapons. . . . Williams, who has made two trips to Cuba since Castro seized control of that country, often flies the Cuban flag in his backyard.')

"Among other by-lines in Rosen's newspaper are John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Staughton Lynd, of the Spelman College Department of History."

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"A feature in the paper relates the success story of Tsaiden Choma, 'a former Tibetan slave girl,' who was 'liberated' by the Chinese Communists and went on to become a famous Red Chinese opera singer. u

"Rosen's by-line appears on the tabloid's lead story, headlined: u

"Mississippi Sterilization Law Legalizes Rape of Negro Women. u

"Appears at Hearing u

"In 1960, Rosen appeared before a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and took the Fifth Amendment in declining to answer all questions regarding Communist Party membership and activities. u

"Rosen appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Feb. 8 and March 13, 1963, and when asked, '...are you now a member of the Communist Party, USA?' answered 'No, sir.' However, he invoked the Fifth Amendment in answer to questions regarding past Communist Party membership. u

"According to records of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the New York Times reported from Moscow on July 30, 1957, on the Communist-inspired World Youth Festival: u

"Jacob Rosen of 636 West 174th Street, Manhattan, a junior at City College, went without sleep to keep things moving. He carried a U. S. flag at yesterday's opening, dipping it in salute to Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet dignitaries at the Lenin Stadium." u

"Read Into Record u

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"The Times article was read into the record of the subcommittee hearings on Fair Play for Cuba in 1963. Rosen declined to answer questions about the festival. u

"While in Russia, Rosen helped organize a tour of American youths to Red China, according to testimony at the hearing. His passport was seized by U. S. authorities upon his return to this country. u

✓ "J. G. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate subcommittee, in the 1963 hearings produced a photograph which he said was taken of Rosen and Rosen's wife, Wendy Nakashima Rosen, Oct. 15, 1960, in the Sierra Maestra Mountains of Cuba. u

"Sourwine asked Rosen: 'Is it true that you and four other persons with Communist connections took part in the construction of a school project in the Sierra Maestra along with other members of the International Organization of Democratic Youth?' u

"Rosen refused to answer. Sourwine then produced a copy of 'New Horizons of Youth' edited by Daniel Rubin, a top Communist youth organizer in the United States, which carried a story captioned: 'I was in a Youth Brigade Building School City in Cuba' by Jake Rosen. Rosen declined to discuss the article. u

"Sourwine also questioned Rosen about whether he informed Cuban authorities about the activities of an American newspaperman, Charles Wiley, in Cuba, causing Wiley to be jailed in Havana. Rosen refused to answer. u

"Wife Also Testifies u

"Rosen apparently has been operating in and out of Atlanta for some time. His wife testified in September before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that she had had an Atlanta address since she and Rosen were married. u

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✓ "Rosen also was a speaker at a meeting June 30, 1960, of ADVANCE in Union Square in New York and was elected vice president of that organization at ADVANCE's founding convention Feb. 13-14, according to The Worker, the Communist newspaper. u

"Hearings now are being held before the Subversive Activities Control Board on a petition of Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to require ADVANCE to register as a Communist-front organization." u

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b7D

STAUGHTON LYND, when interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI on August 13, 1953, stated that although he had never been a member of the Communist Party he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946 on the campus at Harvard University. LYND also stated that the American Youth for Democracy was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy, on the campus at Harvard, and he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June, 1947. LYND further stated that while at Harvard University he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948, and for approximately one year during this period he had served as the Secretary of the John Reed Club. u

[redacted] advised during December 15 and 17, 1953, he heard that STAUGHTON LYND had been a Communist Party member while at Harvard University; however, he doubted LYND had been a Communist Party member but was of the belief LYND had been active in the John Reed Society and the American Youth for Democracy at Harvard. u

[redacted] advised on June 8, 1954, that LYND had never been permitted to join the Communist Party while at Harvard because LYND could never seem to make up his mind that the Communist Party was worthwhile. [redacted]

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explained that the Harvard Chapter of the American Youth for Democracy and the John Reed Society were organizations which in the late 1940's became completely dominated and controlled by the Communist Party. u

The American Youth for Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. u

On May 7, 1964, Sheriff J. M. Ash, Marshall County, Holly Springs, Mississippi, advised a representative of the FBI that on May 6, 1964, at approximately 5:45 p.m. his office arrested six male individuals, three of whom were white and three of whom were Negroes, all riding in an off-white colored Studebaker Lark, bearing Georgia license GA ID 42158, which automobile was pulling a five feet by 12 feet "U-Haul-It" trailer, with Idaho License 1-539. They were charged with Reckless Driving. Those arrested were as follows: u

B APPROX

John Papsworth or Papworth, white male, age 43, Three Tottenham Street, London, England;

Larry W. Rubin *RUBIN* *B APPROX*
Larry W. Rubin, white male, age 22,
3006 Delmar Lane, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia;

Richard Frey *FREY* *white male, age 22,* *B APPROX*
Route 2, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania;

Clinton D. Smith *CLINTON D. SMITH* *Clinton D. Smith, Negro male, age 18,* *B APPROX*
228 Short Dobbs, Hattiesburg, Mississippi;

Alvin C. Packer *ALVIN C. PACKER* *Alvin C. Packer, Negro male, age 18, of* *B APPROX*
507 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi.

The driver of the car was Larry W. Rubin. u

Ash advised that at the time of the arrest, he searched the car and found an address book containing numerous entries in handwriting and hand printing. He was unable to determine to which of the above six individuals the address book belonged. u

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Clinton Smith advised Ash that the books were being hauled for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), in connection with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) Program for Mississippi in the Summer of 1964, and that all of the arrestees were volunteer workers for SNCC. *u*

This address book contained numerous hand printed and handwritten names, addresses and telephone numbers, including the following: *u*

"ADVANCE
Room 636
799 Broadway, NYC.

"CP, USA
23 W. 26th St. 212-
NY 10, NY EU 5-5755

"Cross Currents Press
156 5th Ave.
NY 10, NY

"Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 7th Ave. OX 5-2863
New York, NY (Phil Luce)

"Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Student
Council, FPCC
799 Broadway
NYC, 3

"National Guardian
197 E. 4th St.
NY 9, NY

"New Century Pub.
832 Broadway
New York 3, NY

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"National Council of Sov-Am Fr., Inc.
114 E. 32nd St.
New York 16, NY

"PYOC
80 Clinton St.
New York

"~~Danny Rubin~~
365 Amboy St.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

(NOTE: The above listing was crossed through
and another notation was listed as follows
below.)

"Danny Rubin
190 Garfield Place
Brooklyn, N.Y. Ph. HY 9-7939

"Vets of Abe Lin. Brig.
49 E. 21st St.
Rm. 405 NY 10, NY.

"Dr. Lonnie ~~JX CROSS~~
458-8832 and DU 7-9821
Muhammad's Mosque #4
1519 4th St., N.W.

"Youth Publications
799 B'way
NYC, 3."

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b7D

[REDACTED] advised on May 19, 1964, that one Mortimer Daniel Rubin, also known as Danny Rubin, of New York City, Communist Party (CP), CP, USA, National Youth Director, had stated that a group of CP youth were getting together on June 5, 1964, to go to Mississippi for the Summer of 1964. This Danny Rubin is possibly identical with the Danny Rubin listed at 190 Garfield Place and formerly at 365 Amboy Street, both Brooklyn, New York. ~~(u)~~ (u)